

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 OSLO 02573 251600Z  
ACTION EUR-12

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DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR JERRY DOOLITTLE

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SOPN, NO  
SUBJECT: KENNAN INPUT FOR SPEECH

REF: DONCHI-BREMER TELCON MAY 25

1. TRANSMITTED BELOW IS GEORGE KENNAN'S DRAFT TEXT PER WHITE HOUSE REQUEST.

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE U.S. FACES TWO ORDERS OR PROBLEMS -- THOSE THAT COME FROM THE OUTSIDE AND ARISE FROM THE ACTIONS OF OTHERS -- AND THOSE THAT COME FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN SOCIETY. THESE TWO CATEGORIES ARE NOT UNCONNECTED; BUT THEY MUST BE VIEWED SEPARATELY.

3. THE MOST DANGEROUS OF THE OUTSIDE PROBLEMS ARE AGAIN OF TWO SIDES. FIRST, THOSE THAT ARISE FROM THE MAJOR IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT OF OUR TIME, WHEN TAKEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE VAST DESTRUCTIVENESS AND WIDE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. UNLESS CAREFULLY HANDLED THESE, OF COURSE, PRESENT TREMENDOUS DANGERS. BUT THERE IS NO REASON WHY THESE DANGERS NEED MATERIALIZE. NO ONE WANTS THAT KIND OF A WAR. EVERYONE REALIZES, IN THE MARXISTS COUNTRIES AS ELSEWHERE, THAT THERE ARE NO IDEOLOGICAL VICTORIES TO BE WON BY THE USE OF SUCH WEAPONS. IN THE FACT THAT

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PEOPLE DO REALIZE THIS WE HAVE SOMETHING SOLID TO BUILD ON; AND THERE IS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT BY A COMBINATION OF ADEQUATE STRENGTH ON OUR SIDE, OF QUIET SELF-RESTRAINT IN THE USE OF THAT STRENGTH, OF A REFUSAL TO BELIEVE IN THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR, AND OF THE PATIENT PERSISTENT DEVELOPMENT OF MORE HOPEFUL ALTERNATIVES, WE CANNOT EVENTUALLY LEAD INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OUT INTO A MORE STABLE AND HOPEFUL

STATE OF AFFAIRS.

4. THE SECOND CATEGORY OF EXTERNAL PROBLEMS CONSIST OF THOSE CONFLICTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD IN WHICH THE US IS NOT A MAJOR CONTESTANT EVEN THOUGH IT DOES IN SOME INSTANCES HAVE A LIMITED INTEREST. OUTSTANDING, HERE, ARE THOSE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE US CANNOT ITSELF RESOLVE THESE CONFLICTS OR IMPOST SOLUTIONS. THIS BEING THE CASE, ITS OWN MILITARY FORCES OUGHT NOT TO BE INVOLVED FOR ANYTHING OTHER THAN PEACEKEEPING OR OTHER INCIDENTAL PURPOSES. THE US CAN, HOWEVER, USE ITS OTHER MEANS OF INFLUENCE, WHICH ARE CONSIDERABLE, TO OPPOSE THOSE FORCES THAT SEEK SWEEPING AND VIOLENT SOLUTIONS AND TO ENCOURAGE THOSE THAT SEEK REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION. ABOVE ALL IT CAN EXERT ITSELF TO ASSURE THAT LOCAL CONFLICTS DO NOT GROW INTO GLOBAL ONES. IF THESE PRINCIPLES ARE FOLLOWED THERE IS NO REASON WHY THESE REGIONAL CONFLICTS SHOULD BECOME SERIOUS THREATS TO AMERICAN SECURITY.

5. BEYOND THIS THERE ARE, OF COURSE, THE GREAT CONSTRUCTIVE POSSIBILITIES OF THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH OTHER NATIONS -- FOR WHICH THE US IS PECULIARLY FITTED BY THE EXPERIENCE, TRANDITIONS, AND THE NATURAL INCLINATIONS OF ITS PEOPLE. WE MUST SEE THAT THESE POSSIBILITIES ARE NOT NEGLECTED THROUGH OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE DANGERS THAT CONFRONT US.

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6. AS FOR THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS: SOME OF THE MOST SERIOUS OF THESE ARE, OF COURSE, THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ONES, WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN TO INCLUDE OUR DEPENDENCE ON OTHERS FOR SOURCES OF ENERGY AND INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS VITAL TO THE HEALTH OF OUR ECONOMY. BUT TO THESE MUST BE ADDED THE PECULIAR SPIRITUAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT SEEM EVERYWHERE TO ACCOMPANY A CONDITION OF MATERIAL PLENTY: PERMISSIVENESS, CRIME, DURGS, CORRUPTION, PORNOGRAPHY. ALL THESE PROBLEMS ARE CONNECTED AND IN A FAILURE ON OUR PART TO MAKE HEADWAY AGAINST THEM THERE LIE DANGERS NO SMALLER THAN THOSE THAT FACE US FROM OUTSIDE. FOR NO SOCIETY CAN HOPE FOR PROTECTION FROM EXTERNAL DANGERS WHICH CANNOT PRESERVE THE RIGOR, PROMISE AND COMPETENCE OF ITS OWN LIFE AT HOME.

7. HERE TOO, THERE IS NO REASON FOR DEFEATISM OR DISCOURAGEMENT. THE US HAS FACED FREATER PROBLESM THAN THESE AND HAS COPEDED SUCCESSFULLY WITH THEM WHEN IT WANTED TO. IT HAS THE PHYSICAL MEANS, THE ANALYTICAL RESOURCES, THE MANPOWER AND THE KNOW-HOW. SUCCESS IMPLIES A READINESS OF MANY PEOPLE TO SUBORDINATE PERSONAL AND GROUP INTERESTS TO THOSE OF THE COMMUNITY, LOCAL AND REGIONAL AS WELL AS NATIONAL. BUT THOSE WHO DO THIS WILL FIND THEIR PERSONAL AND GROUP INTERESTS BETTER SERVED IN THIS WAY, IN THE END, THAN BY ANY AND ALL EFFORTS

TO PROMOTE THEM DIRECTLY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE COMMUNITY  
AS A WHOLE.

8. IN THE LONG RUN AMERICA'S EXTERNAL SECURITY AND QUALITY OF ITS  
DOMESTIC LIFE WILL BE THE TRUE REFLECTIONS OF ITS VIEW OF ITSELF --  
OF THE STANDARDS TO WHICH IT HOLDS ITSELF -- OF THE EXPECTATIONS  
IT ADDRESSES TO ITS OWN PERFORMANCE. IF THESE ARE HIGH ENOUGH  
THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION OF THE PROMISE OF ITS FUTURE.  
END TEXT.  
LERNER

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